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them, and Zaŋ stood unswervingly by Pumaan, when the latter took sides against the head of their own medial lineage in the dispute over the succession to the clan *bɔŋar*. Nindɔŋat and Yintee, who, unlike Zaŋ and Pumaan, still farmed together, were cast in the same mould. Both were notorious for their instability and aggressiveness. They were known to quarrel frequently and on at least one occasion came to blows. But no one could have been more loyal to Nindɔŋat than Yintee, in particular where the possessions of the family were concerned.

In short, though *soog* siblings come into conflict at times it does not undermine their solidarity. The reason for this is obvious. The crux of the sibling relationship lies in its social definition. Personal qualities may modify its content in particular cases; they cannot break up its structure; and this holds for every degree of sibling relationship. In the case of *soog* siblings the infrangible core is the relation of uterine siblings to and through their mother, as members of the matricentral *dug* in contraposition to the patricentral *yir*, first in the joint family and later in the lineage. The significance of this factor, the notion of maternal origin, can be judged from the relations of *soog* brothers who have different fathers. They may have no common economic interests and may grow up separately, after the early years of childhood. But they have very firm ties of affection and mutual loyalty, which are often expressed through mutual economic aid. Sie and Da'amo'o were *soog* brothers thus related, their mother having first been married to Sie's father and after his death to Da'amo'o's father, who belonged to a different medial lineage of the clan. Sie was the older of the two by ten or fifteen years. Whenever he was in trouble over something Da'amo'o went to seek Sie's advice rather than his proxy father's. This principle, as we have noted before, is of general validity in Tale social structure. It appears in the stronger cohesion and amity always found between individuals and lineages whose progenitors were *saarɔt* than between those who are only patrilineally connected. Nɛna'ab and Ɔndieso remained great friends in spite of the long-standing quarrel between their two inner lineages, because their mothers were full sisters. At the level of maximal lineage organization, Seug is a much more closely knit section of Tongo than the other three sections, because the founding ancestors of the two major segments of Seug were sons of one mother.[1]

Solidarity and Equality among sunzɔ Siblings

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But the critical importance of the idea of their common parentage, bilaterally or unilaterally, in the relations of siblings is best shown in the differences between the relations of *soog* siblings and those of half-siblings and other paternal siblings (*sunzɔŋ*). Tallensi tend to draw a line between *soog* siblings and all other sibling relatives within the same nuclear lineage or inner lineage. Thus half-siblings (i.e. children of

[1] Cf. *Dynamics of Clanship*, ch. xii, p. 213.

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the same father by different mothers) and ortho-cousins (father's brothers' children) are all lumped together as *sunzɔp* of close degree, referred to by sibling terms. Though the exact degree of patrilineal kinship between a pair of siblings has a direct effect on their mutual and common interests and on their place in the family structure, Tallensi tend to feel the same way towards an ortho-cousin as towards a half-sibling. This is natural since brothers' children often grow up together in the same domestic family.

The social and personal relations of *sunzɔp* siblings of the same nuclear lineage are identical in pattern with those of *soog* siblings. But they differ, markedly at times, in degree; for the affective as well as social relations of siblings are a function of their genealogical distance from one another, and in particular of the cleavages fixed by differences of maternal parentage.

Many indications of this have been given in previous chapters and in the preceding paragraphs, for one cannot isolate the relations of *soog* siblings from the total context of family relations or from the total field of sibling relations. Having different mothers or different fathers creates significant differences in the social relations and personal intercourse of children with their parents and with each other. It stamps the child's experience of the common domestic environment and family history uniquely for himself and his full siblings. The structural correlate of this, as we have shown in an earlier chapter, is the distinctive field of cognatic kinship which goes with different maternal origin. Hence his social position in relation to his siblings is directly reflected in his sentiments and attitudes towards them. Differentiation in the field of genealogical ties carries with it differentiation of status, rights, and duties, and this has an immediate counterpart in affective behaviour. Thus, whereas it is assumed that full brothers will remain together for most of their lives, half-brothers are expected to separate in due course; and whereas discord between *soog* brothers is felt to require explanation by reference to personal idiosyncrasies, what is felt to call for such explanation in the case of half-brothers is their adhering to each other when most people would expect them to separate. 'It is only because we are on such good terms that Barimoda (his younger half-brother) still shares the homestead with me', said Naabdiya, when he was describing the organization of his domestic family.

In childhood and adolescence paternal siblings may be the greatest comrades in play and work. The affective cleavage between them comes out chiefly in the domestic circle—when they go off at night to sleep in their respective mothers' quarters; when they seek the solace of their own mothers in sickness or distress; when an older sibling merely scolds his younger *sunzɔ* for a fault for which he would have smacked his *soog*; and so forth. The relations of *sunzɔ* siblings are strongly coloured by the social and personal relations of their mothers. *Sunzɔ*

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his own sons. More surprising, Puvəlimra was admitted to all the esoteric rites of the Earth cult and often represented the tɛndaana in ritual activities. He was permitted to do this because he belonged to a lineage holding a tɛndaana-ship allied to that of Gbizug. Had he been a Namoo, he would have been excluded from all but the domestic religious rites of the tɛndaana.

He was a great favourite, too, with the tɛndaana's children. But one of the sons once made a revealing comment on Puvəlimra's position. He spoke in a slightly patronizing tone, though not offensively so. 'Puvəlimra', he said, 'is our child (*u a ti bii*). We like him to stay with us and we may not deny him anything. But one day he may decide to go home and we can't restrain him; or if he offends us we can tell him to go. He is not our person (as a member of the lineage is). However much the tɛndaana may like him he cannot inherit our ancestor shrines or our farms or our homestead. It is because he gets on so well with the tɛndaana that he stays.'

This comment is typical of conventional opinion on the position of an *ahəŋ* in the family of his *ahəb*. Puvəlimra himself, Gikoo-Duun, and Bayana, three young men who either lived or had lived with their mothers' brothers, defined their position in exactly the same terms. It would be an offence against the ancestors to deny an *ahəŋ* a home, but he has none of the fundamental rights of a son; his position depends on the personal attachment to him, and concern for him, of his mother's brother. An *ahəŋ* in Puvəlimra's position, it is sometimes suggested, is apt to be more compliant than a son, so as to ingratiate himself with his *ahəb*. He cannot make demands as of right, as a son may do. Said Gikoo-Duun: 'I was a small boy when I went to live with my *ahəb-soog* at Saamər (in Mampurugu). Later I went out on my own to build my homestead and farm for myself near him. It was not because of a quarrel. But my mother's brother will not take care of (i.e. take responsibility for) my affairs (*u ku maal n-ycla*). He will not marry a wife for me. If he does give me one cow to help pay my wife's bride-price and we should some day quarrel, he will say I must pay it back. He is not of my people. My people are here at Zubiuŋ. Even though I am far away, they (the Zubiuŋ people) will look after my affairs. If I were to die to-day they would make my funeral and inherit my things. Do you not see that I come here (to Zubiuŋ) regularly to sacrifice to my ancestors?'

As we know, one of the major jural responsibilities of a father for his son is in marriage affairs. Hence the fact that a sister's son has no claim, as of right, on his mother's brother's assistance in this important matter is a good test of their jural relations. Puvəlimra's marriage created the first rift between him and his mother's brother. The marriage was beset with difficulties. The girl's father feared that he would never get the bride-price as Puvəlimra's proxy father was a blind old man who lived